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is whether the purchasing power of the dollar declines or rises. The monetary unit has been going down steadily for the last several years.

Nowhere in President Johnson's speech was there a single reference to the enormous debt of the Federal Government. It is around \$310 billion—the largest in history.

How long can any government maintain public confidence in its monetary unit if the national debt is not reduced? The argument now is made that the tax cut will soon produce a budget surplus because, as the President puts it, there is an expectation of increases in production and in the number of jobs. But overlooked is the fact that, if the purchasing power of the dollar is steadily cut down, more wage increases are made necessary and, as profits are correspondingly reduced, prices have to be raised. This is what is customarily called an inflationary cycle.

The danger in the present situation is that, if the lending public ever comes to the conclusion that the Government of the United States is going to continue to borrow more every year without reducing its debt, there will have to be a substantial increase in interest rates. The lender who foresees a depreciation in the dollar will want the equivalent of higher wages for the loan of his money. When interest rates on Government borrowings go upward, the interest rates in the commercial world are, of course, pushed higher, too. This adds to business costs and tends to reduce the rate of profit.

Sooner or later, the high interest rates produce a setback in the economy. This was a key factor in the 1929 crash and what ensued thereafter. The President hinted in his speech that he hopes the Federal Reserve System will keep interest rates down, and he warns business to hold its prices down. But business will be helpless against the inflation that is actually caused by the Government's own fiscal policies.

The President, for instance, now is talking about further tax cuts and has not indicated that any action will be taken to use any surplus in the budget to pay off debt. What he proposes instead is more tax cuts. Based on past experience, this means more and more deficits and the further weakening of the purchasing power of the dollar.

Unfortunately, in Government circles there is not much of a tendency to look ahead several years. The custom is to look only a few months ahead to a national election, the winning of which is directly related to how widely an impression of prosperity can be conveyed by administration spokesmen. The picture that is being painted by them today is rosy indeed. But it was very rosy in 1929, too, until the facts of economic life began to emerge in a national economy that outwardly was booming but inwardly was struggling in vain against credit inflation and high interest rates.

### Practicality Versus Emotion

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 4, 1964

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article by the distinguished columnist, Joseph Alsop, which appeared in the April 17, 1964, edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

Mr. Alsop dramatizes the two alternatives facing our Nation in the civil rights crisis: practicality and emotion. It is to be hoped that those on both sides will adopt the practical approach to this problem. Equality is not fostered by emotional reactions; neither is justice furthered by creating antagonism.

The article follows:

#### PRACTICALITY VERSUS EMOTION

(By Joseph Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—The spotty Communist infiltration of the Negro civil rights movement, which has now been revealed, is merely one more sign that this agonizing problem is moving toward another crisis phase.

Furthermore, this sign, though deeply disturbing, is really less meaningful than other signs of a more public character. In New York, for instance, extremists in the Congress on Racial Equality have alternately been threatening to sabotage the World's Fair and to sabotage the city water system.

On the other side of the ledger, a shockingly large number of Wisconsin voters were willing and even eager to cast their votes for the racist-mountebank, Governor Wallace, of Alabama. And in Kansas City an ordinance forbidding discrimination in housing has just escaped defeat by such a paper-thin margin that one must conclude discrimination was actually favored by a majority of Kansas City's white people.

The fact of the matter is that unreason and excess on one side are promoting and encouraging prejudice and unreason on the other side. The CORE extremists, if they carry out their threats in New York, will only provoke more opposition to their demands. The Wisconsin people who voted for Governor Wallace only gave an argument to the civil rights movement's extremists and Communist infiltrators.

In these circumstances, a heavy new burden of responsibility is unavoidably cast upon the leaders of both sides. The Negro leaders, in particular, now need more than the mere confidence in the justice of their cause, which they so rightly feel. They need to be selective and practical in their aims and astute and coolheaded about their tactics.

The simplest illustration of the challenge facing the Negro leaders is the problem of the de facto segregation that prevails in many northern urban school systems. This is one of the prime targets of the CORE extremists who are now planning to dramatize their indignation by sabotage.

As a practical matter, it is perfectly clear that the white majorities in the northern cities are not going to stand for forcible homogenization of their city school systems. Some are prejudiced. A great many more want their children to attend neighborhood schools. The white majorities will react with extreme hostility if their children are carted hither and yon, far from their own neighborhoods, in order to give all their city's schools a kind of standard, pepper-and-salt complexion.

This reaction has already begun in New York, where the Parents & Taxpayers Association has rapidly acquired a huge following. Among the Negro masses, meanwhile, there is little real desire for a homogenized school system, despite the deep and just resentment of segregation.

New York again offers the proof: for New York parents may opt to have their children carried to schools outside their own neighborhood, which they regard as better than the neighborhood schools. In one Harlem school visited by this reporter, 1,300 children were eligible to go elsewhere, but only 13 had chosen to do so. The citywide percentage is not much more impressive.

Finally, it must also be noted that many children from deeply deprived neighborhoods cannot fairly be exposed to daily competition

with more fortunate children. This has nothing whatsoever to do with race, of course. Students of the problem have simply discovered, at long last, the far from surprising fact that children brought up in conditions of extreme poverty tend to be behind in language and other skills. They therefore need special help at the outset, in order to compete on equal terms with other children.

Hence the sensible solution of the northern urban school problem is nothing more nor less than a quite new kind of discrimination. Schools in deprived neighborhoods have twice as big a job to do as schools in happier neighborhoods, and they need twice as much money to do the job. Invest enough extra to give the children of poverty the means of escape from poverty, and they will escape in the end.

If this were asked for, there would be no such resistance as the attack on neighborhood schools has encountered. But this is not being asked for. It probably will not be asked for, either, since the Negro leaders are in competition with one another; and this competition is too emotion-charged to allow much room for down-to-earth practicality.

That also makes it all the more urgent for the white majority to be both practical and generous. For if the Negro minority is not admitted to full membership in the larger American society and given all the help, too, that the minority needs to enjoy that membership, this country will surely find itself with what amounts to a permanent, endemic anticolonial war on its hands. Those who deny justice for too long must always pay in the end.

### Jews and Judaism in the Soviet Orbit

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. JOHN D. DINGELL**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 4, 1964

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article entitled "Jews and Judaism in the Soviet Orbit," by the distinguished clergyman and scholar, Rabbi Richard C. Hertz, Ph. D., of Temple Beth El, Detroit, Mich. Dr. Hertz has served for 2 years as chairman of the Committee on Jews in the Soviet Orbit for the Central Conference of American Rabbis. His report, published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, sets forth in very clear language the situation of practitioners of the Jewish religion behind the Iron Curtain. A portion of that fine work is set out in brief form below:

#### JEWES AND JUDAISM IN THE SOVIET ORBIT

(By Rabbi Richard C. Hertz)

(Dr. Hertz has served for 2 years as chairman of the Committee on Jews in the Soviet Orbit for the Central Conference of American Rabbis. His report, recently published in the newest Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, summarizes the general situation of Jews and Judaism behind the Iron Curtain. Because it is of interest to more than rabbis, a portion is excerpted here.)

#### THE GENERAL SITUATION THIS YEAR

Ten years have passed since Stalin's death. For the Jews of the U.S.S.R. who constitute nearly one-fourth of the total surviving Jewish population of the world, Stalin's death removed the fear of widespread de-

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portations and violent reprisals. Actually, however, Soviet policy toward Jews and Judaism has remained essentially the same since 1948, except that the terror is gone.

Jews occupy a dual status. As Jews they are members of a minority nationality group. Every Jew must carry the mark of his Jewishness stamped on his identification passport—"Jew." Yet Jews are also a religious group, something that makes their status difficult in the antireligious structure of Soviet society.

While the terror of Stalin's black years has been removed along with the general relaxation of Khrushchev's de-Stalinization program, Jews and Judaism suffer from restrictions and discriminations which have wrecked havoc with their security and their future. Their situation has steadily deteriorated. During the past year, we note five particular areas:

1. Khrushchev's reply to Lord Bertrand Russell on March 1, 1963, describing allegations of anti-Semitism in Russia as a "crude falsehood" and denying the existence of anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R., conceded the Western world's interest in the situation of Soviet Jewry. It has long been recognized that the highest Soviet authorities are sensitive to Western criticism of the U.S.S.R.'s policy of anti-Semitism. Constant repetition of concern for the Jews of the U.S.S.R. at last brought this subject to the open level of public discussion by the chief of state. However, Khrushchev's reply to Lord Russell was the first time that Khrushchev agreed even to discuss the Jewish question. Previously he has insisted on remaining officially silent, though he has not bothered to conceal his own private expressions of anti-Semitism in the past, nor to talk of other sins of Stalin.

2. The execution of Jews for "economic crimes" has been stepped up in the past year. Over 60 percent of those executed have been Jews, though Jews constitute but 1.09 percent of the total population, according to the last census done in 1959. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Jews are being used once again as political scapegoats for ingrained, deep-rooted prejudice against Jews. The Russian press deliberately highlighted the stereotype Jewishness of these "economic criminals." The enormously disproportionate number of Jews sentenced to death for currency offenses, speculation, or embezzlement suggest that a camouflage smokescreen has been put up to use the Jews for political purposes. Russian leaders since the days of the czars have found the Jews a convenient scapegoat for diverting the people's attention from their grim standard of living and their rightful grievances.

3. As in 1962, Passover 1963 found no matzo's baked in Government bakeries for Soviet Jews, except in far-off Georgia, Rabbi Leib Levin at Central Synagogue, Moscow, told his people that they must bake their matzo's at home. Efforts of American Jews to secure permission to fly matzo's as a "Bundles for Russia" program met with no success. The ban on matzo's was one more Government effort to whittle away at the ties that bind the Jews of the U.S.S.R. to their ancient religious faith. Since Passover traditionally emphasizes the national group's redemption from slavery and the story of the freedom march to the Promised Land, Passover is becoming the particular butt of Soviet attack linking Jews and Judaism with subversion and disloyalty. The Kremlin's propaganda stresses an umbilical cord of Jewish chauvinism that ties the religious leaders of Judaism in the U.S.S.R. to the Jewish homeland of Israel, and therefore makes Jews and Judaism suspect, Israel being considered by the Kremlin as a tool of Western capitalist imperialism.

Official antireligious propaganda affects all religious groups. Only against the Jews is the lack of patriotism injected into the prop-

aganda. Prohibiting matzo's at Passover was the culmination to date of the discriminatory pressures against Judaism.

4. Synagogues are the one remaining institution permitted to Jews in the U.S.S.R. Yet even these are being closed up one by one as a means of fragmentizing and atomizing Soviet Jewry, isolating Jews both from their past and from each other as well as from their brethren in other parts of the world. Since June 1961 synagogue presidents in six cities have been arbitrarily removed from office. Jewish communal leaders in Leningrad and Moscow have been sentenced to prison for such alleged crimes as meeting with foreign visitors at the synagogue.

Synagogues are never opened or rebuilt, only closed. This steady policy of closing up synagogues one by one is part of the general antireligious policy in the U.S.S.R. Yet against the Jews such a policy has been particularly discriminatory. While communism regards Christianity and Islam as "opiates of the masses," the Kremlin treats Judaism as if it were poison gas. Christian and Russian Orthodox groups are permitted national federations and central organizations; no such communication is permitted between the synagogues of the U.S.S.R. No publishing facilities or theological seminaries, such as Protestant and Russian Orthodox have, are permitted to Jews. The major religions are authorized to produce whatever ceremonial objects are needed—candles, crucifixes, icons, beads. For Jews, neither talmisim nor teffilin can be produced. Not even prayerbooks nor Bibles can be published for Jews. Hebrew is forbidden. The yeshivah in Moscow in which Rabbi Leib Levin took such pride, located in his central synagogue, went down to four students and now has been officially closed, according to Archbishop Nikkudin, who visited the United States in March 1963 on an official delegation. No such Jewish religious delegation has ever been permitted to visit outside the U.S.S.R., nor to have any contacts whatsoever with any other Jewish religious or national bodies inside or outside the U.S.S.R.

The Government's policy, then, is clear: Cultural genocide for the Jews, spiritual strangulation for the Jews, group isolation from all other Jews, total assimilation enforced upon the Jews.

5. Cancellation of a lecture tour to the United States of the prominent non-Jewish poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, one of the most popular young Soviet poets, focused renewed attention upon his controversial poem "Babi Yar," written in September 1961. In the literary organ of the Soviet Writers Union. The poem was a protest against the slaughter by the Nazis of the thousands of Jewish martyrs who lie in nameless graves in a gully outside Kiev. Yevtushenko has been disciplined for writing nonconformist ideas; yet the more the Soviet authorities seek to censure him for deviating from the party line, the more attention is focused upon the Jewish martyrs to terror and tyranny for whom no monument rises in Babi Yar.

It seems clear Soviet policy to play down the martyrdom of Soviet Jews during the Nazi invasion. Even the Eichmann trial found scant notice in the Soviet press.

#### THE FUTURE

The plight of the Jews in the U.S.S.R. is no longer the world's best kept secret. Little by little their story is being told in the mass media, such as the New York Times and Saturday Evening Post, both of which should be commended for their articles this past year. Moshe Decter's article on "The Status of the Jews in the Soviet Union" in Foreign Affairs, January 1963, summed up the best capsule review to appear in print so far. While far from being a "White Paper" documenting the exact status of Jews and Judaism in the U.S.S.R. the Decter piece should

be read by everyone seeking reliable background for this grim subject. In a full-page advertisement in the New York Times and other newspapers, the American Jewish Committee published a long cable to Nikita S. Khrushchev demanding to know: "When will will synagogues and Jewish seminaries be reestablished, imprisoned synagogue leaders set free, the ban on unleavened bread rescinded, ritual articles and Jewish prayerbooks made available \* \* \* The world awaits your response. By deeds alone can your Government confirm that the Soviet Union in truth upholds the rights of minorities and the equal dignity of man." (Dec. 7, 1962.)

What should be done to help our brethren in the U.S.S.R.? Obviously Soviet Jews cannot defend themselves. It is for those in the free world to raise their voices in protest.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, as a member of the Synagogue Council of America, has joined in making certain representations of common concern to the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

As individual rabbis, we can help mobilize public opinion and present before our congregations and communities the truth behind the news.

As private citizens, we can reassure the U.S. State Department of the need for a high priority of U.S. attention to be given this concern of American Jews, and for the need within the context of American foreign policy to press for the exposure of the situation of Jews and Judaism behind the Iron Curtain before the international arena of the United Nations. The Central Conference of American Rabbis should know that at present the U.S. State Department believes that any direct U.S. intervention or representations on behalf of Soviet Jews would only backfire and do more harm than good to Soviet Jews because of the tension already between the United States and the U.S.S.R., and therefore become a further pretext for the Kremlin to link Soviet Jews with disloyalty and subversion.

On the other hand, the rabbi's greatest tool—molders of public conscience—can surely be used to cry out against the net of spiritual strangulation being drawn against the Jews of the U.S.S.R. By public resolution and by individual protest, this committee urges the executive board to bring the full influence of the Central Conference of American Rabbis to this exposure of the truth. After losing 6 million Jews to the Nazi juggernaut, no more pressing tragedy than the plight of another 3 million Jews held prisoners in Red Russia challenges the survival of the Jewish people today.

#### Polish Constitution Day

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK J. HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 4, 1964

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the entire history of the Poles is marked with great deeds of gallantry and heroism, but their most recent past may be summed up as misery and misfortune. Through no fault of their own, they have suffered and endured more hardships than almost any other national group in all Europe. Being weaker than their powerful neighbors, both in the West and in the East, they have been unable to withstand the periodic onslaughts against them by their ruthlessly power-